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TRANSLATIONS ON LATIN AMERICA
(GUO 9/73)

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BRAZIL

ARCHBISHOP HELDER CAMARA DISCUSSES INJUSTICE

[Interview with Archbishop Helder Camara; Rio de Janeiro, Opinioao, Portuguese, 19-26 February 1973, p 5]

Dom Helder Camara is the Archbishop of Recife and Olinda, in the state of Pernambuco. His diocese is one of the poorest areas in the world.

The Catholic church is the only organization of major size existing in Brazil which is not controlled by the military government, and Dom Helder has used his position within the church to aid the poor and the oppressed and to speak out against the social injustices in his country. He has already been the victim of two attacks upon his life.

In the course of his frequent trips, the "Bishop of the Slums" has gained a world-wide reputation as the most radical spokesman of the church when it comes to problems of development, and the most determined critic of the relations between the rich world and the poor world.

He gave this interview to the British periodical The Internationalist (published in the November 1972 issue) during his recent visits to Great Britain.

Question: You have described your work in the Northeast of Brazil as a work of "consciousness raising." What does this mean?

Answer: When in a land of poverty the poverty is already inherited, because the individuals living there today have parents and grandparents who spent their lives in poverty, then the tendency of these people is to fall into fatalism. At this point, the people lose the sense of independence. They regard themselves as objects for aid and paternalism, without any right to freedom or justice. They say "what's the good of

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this" or "this is impossible" or "it's the government" or "I can't do anything about it." They resign themselves to the fact that they cannot change their situation. This is the slave mentality. It represents a subhuman existence.

Therefore it is clear that one must try to awaken the awareness of the people, transforming their naive awareness into a critical one. The people must be capable of measuring the extent of the misery in which they have stagnated.

But to do this, they must succeed in overcoming fatalism, rising above despair, persuading themselves that even if individually none of them can do anything, together they are already a force, they are already a power, and they can begin to work for a change. But if the government finds that the people are beginning to organize themselves to achieve improvement, that they are organizing to overcome their poverty, that they are organizing to demand their rights, then just as there have come to exist problems, there will also exist hope. And finally, this is what we want, is it not? Because development cannot be imposed from the top downward. It is necessary that the awareness of the people be awakened, that the public opinion be informed, that the people be encouraged to liberal education, popular culture, and personal improvement.

"Consciousness raising" and "demystification" are words we have created to describe this work. This work means encouraging awareness, aiding man to use his freedom and his awareness, aiding man to become a man.

Question: You have described the condition of these very poor individuals as subhuman. In your documents, you have already described the situation of many of the rich as inhuman. Does this mean that at some intermediary point there exists a level of mental, social, and material well-being which you would call a "human" level of development?

Answer: When one is plunged in the situations of extreme misery which exist in the poor countries, it is rather easy to see that the situation is truly subhuman, especially when there are despair, fatalism, and the impression that nothing is worth the trouble of bestirring oneself. This is truly subhuman. But it is equally true that too much comfort creates a situation which ceases to be human. The protest movement of the hippies is a protest against a consumer society which had become inhuman. Thus, why couldn't one imagine or think of a certain level which would be neither subhuman nor inhuman?

Respect for the Bishops

Question: In your work in Brazil, you say that you are making use of "a certain advantage in belonging to the episcopate." In terms of scope and protection, what does this give you?

Answer: I was referring to a given aspect which still persists even nowadays for the bishops in our country. Laymen, friars, and priests have already been jailed. But where bishops are concerned, at least to date, there is still a certain respect maintained. I try to take advantage of these vestiges of clericalism, not to wage personal attacks or to insult this or that individual, not that, but rather to demand justice as a condition for peace.

I also take advantage of these vestiges of respect to travel and meet with minority groups in each country.

Question: Analyzing your work on the international level, you often say in your books and lectures in Europe and the United States that drastic changes must occur in the developed countries so that there can be some improvement in the conditions in their underdeveloped world. What exactly do you mean by this?

Answer: We Christians also very often have an attitude of awaiting help. In other words, we think that all problems can be resolved by acts of charity. There is much talk of financial aid, for example, but there is not so much talk of justice, rights, or structural change.

Look, for example, at international trade. Until a complete revision of the international trade policies is made, the poor will continue to get poorer, while the rich will continue to amass wealth. A review of this nature would inevitably entail major changes not only in the countries in the process of development but in the developed world.

The UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) analyzed this problem in great depth. If the UNCTAD studies were incorrect or false, then they should be torn up and thrown in the wastebasket. But if they were correct, then they should be examined with the greatest possible seriousness, because they reveal injustice on a massive scale.

We must also analyze the agreements in the major international transactions. During the past 15 years, for example, United States investments in Latin America were in excess of \$3,800,000,000. But during the same period, the foreign exchange brought back into the United States thanks to these

investments increased to the point of reaching \$11,300,000,000. Often these great business deals extort from the poor more than they give them, in addition to introducing automation in areas of underemployment and boycotts of our local industries.

We Christians are neither political revolutionaries nor extremists, but we cannot resign ourselves to be satisfied with charity or with minimal reforms. We must struggle against injustice wherever it may be, even if this has been a part of the local social order for a long time.

Hope Among Minorities

Question: Many people have accused you of defending the use of violence as a means of obtaining social change. What are actually your opinions on this matter?

Answer: I have said that I respect those who, after careful and sincere thought, opt for violence. Personally, I have always said that I would prefer a thousand times to be dead rather than to kill. I believe that in the final analysis, only the force of love is constructive and strong, and I believe in the force of nonviolent moral pressure -- this is the violence of the pacifist. It means that I believe more passionately in the moral force of truth, love, and justice, than in the force of wars, murder, and hate. No one was born to be a slave. No one wants to live in a subhuman situation. No one seeks to suffer humiliation and injustice day after day. Those who have brought others to this situation, or who keep them there, have already committed violence -- this is the number one violence -- which leads to the number two violence, which is revolt and retaliation, either by the oppressed themselves or by the young people determined to struggle for a better world.

Question: After all of the criticisms you have made of the state in which the world is today, why is it that you still say "we are closer than many realize to a harmonious and united civilization"?

Answer: I am not a pessimist. I have great hopes. I have faith, not only in the fact that God will not abandon the main work of his creation to destruction, but also in the intelligence and the commonsense of man.

And my greatest hope lies with the young people and the minorities I find everywhere -- minorities of students, of technicians, of religious people, of politicians, and minorities of the common people. It is these minorities which make the world turn and my hope increases with each trip I make and each meeting with these minorities which exist throughout the world.

I call them the Abrahamic minorities, since like Abraham, they hope against hope.

Only by working together can we manage, or so I hope, to obtain -- both in your industrialized countries and in ours -- a more just and more humane situation.

And my hope is renewed whenever I meet groups of young people everywhere in the world trying to use their brains, not satisfied with enthusiasm pure and simple, but trying to go deeper into the solution in such a way as to understand the internal situations in their countries. My hope lies in them.

For example, I have met groups of young people aiding each other to buy stocks in large multinational companies, in order to obtain the right to discuss, seriously and objectively, the budgets and colossal profits of the international companies.

In Europe, the United States, and all of the rich countries, the majority of the people obviously want to earn more, to have more profit, but it seems to me that they cannot go along with the tremendous injustices which the young people in these countries are beginning to denounce.

And it seems to me that the experience which these young people are acquiring when they study the situation of the workers in their own countries, or the situation of the foreign workers, or when they examine and discuss the activities of the large corporations and the reports of the UNCTAD -- it seems to me that this is the true lesson -- this is the true university in which the young people are training for the future.

Action for Justice

Question: In the United States, you spoke of "action for justice and for peace." What does this involve?

Answer: Action for Justice and Peace can be found everywhere. It involves the Abrahamic minorities to which I referred. We are urging all of these minorities, everyone, the oppressed and the oppressor, the student and the technocrat, the poor and the rich to join together in action for justice and for peace. It falls to no one in particular, to no country, no culture, and no religion. It is the result of the joint work of men of good will everywhere in the world, of persons determined to exert this liberating moral pressure to achieve justice and humanity in the world.

It is action, because it is not simply a matter of proper words, or of studying major texts and drawing great conclusions. Justice, because it is not a question of a favor, or of charity, or of financial aid -- justice is needed to achieve our goal, which is peace. Not a deceptive type of peace, which only benefits privileged groups, but a peace which benefits everyone.

Just as I speak of Abrahamic minorities, I speak also of action for justice and for peace, because it seems to me that this is the synthesis of a discussion known to all of us.

Cultural Revolution

Question:..... Hasn't China, for example, managed to achieve many of the things you defend, such as the abolition of internal colonialism and the major inequalities in wealth? What are your real views about communism and development?

Answer: You are quite right in saying that China, as well as the Soviet Union, can boast extraordinary successes. About the middle of the century, these countries emerged from a semi-feudal situation to assume the status of superpowers. And it is true that in China a victory has been won over domestic colonialism, and it is also true that to a great extent illiteracy has been eliminated.

However, in my view, the price has been very high. It seems to me very clear, for example, that there were distortions of socialism within the Soviet Union, that there is a duality between the party and the people, that there is an imposition of dialectical materialism, that there is an atmosphere of suspicion and fear. I am very carefully studying the cultural revolution in China. It is a movement which certainly merits attention, but unfortunately it does not seem possible to me to trust blindly in the cultural revolution. It seems to me that it is based broadly on the deification of Mao. And whenever we have a situation in which a man is deified, it is almost certain that we have a major problem ahead of us. One day in the future China will find itself obliged to destroy the myth of the personality of Mao, just as the Soviet Union had to undertake this with regard to Stalin.

Beyond this, and although the cultural revolution demands much more study, I have the impression that it is also based on a vast, a very vast crushing of man.

And it also seems to me that China has its own imperialistic ideas. Just prior to the visit paid by President Nixon, there was a terrible war between India and Pakistan over free Bengal, and the stand adopted by China was far from being a clear and honest one.

The young supporters of Mao, for their part, had great hopes for the UNCTAD meeting in Chile, because of China's participation. But the behavior of China during the conference was clearly demagogic, and when at the end of the sessions the time came for real commitments, truly profound commitments, China simply sidestepped the matter.

These are some of the reasons which lead me to believe that there is a need for a new experience, a new socialism, without the distortions which were imposed upon it by the Soviet Union and by China.

A test of a new socialism has begun in Chile. President Allende stated plainly that he wants a Chilean experiment in socialism -- a socialism which will truly be real socialism -- but he is struggling against vast powers aided by privileged groups within Chile, which threaten Allende's ability to continue.

The Opiate of the People

Question: And what is the role of the church in the midst of all of this? Do you find that there are many priests who share your ideas? In the final analysis, the church was for a long time a force in the system.

Answer: It is sad to think that for many people Christianity is the religion of the white man, the religion of the 20 percent who are rich, the religion of those who dominated and still dominate; the religion of those who condoned the enslavement of the Africans and the Indians, the religion of those who never have given more than crumbs of aid, and the religion of those who compete against each other in the armaments race.

In the past, the church itself closed its eyes to these things and contributed to pacifying the consciences of the rich and the powerful, on the condition that these would provide camouflage for their terrible injustices by building churches, rich and luxurious, often contrasting with the poverty existing around them. And their workers have neither homes nor adequate food, the masters used the church to say "God gives in accordance with the needs of each of us." In reality, what we did in many respects was to justify the statement of Marx to the effect that religion is "the opiate of the people."

But the church has sufficient potential to be the opposite of an opiate. It has the capacity to be a great force for demystification, for awakening and stirring the consciences of the peoples throughout the world, such as to create a more just

and humane world. And I find that this is the beginning. I see this beginning of action among the minorities of priests and nuns in all the parts of the world to which I travel.

What I want to say to all of those who have turned toward atheism out of fear that, in recognizing an omnipotent God, they would be reducing man to the status of a slave, that the fact is that for a Christian, man was not born to be the slave of God, much less to be the slave of any other man. I have a tremendous desire to say to them that the Christian interpretation of the order which men receive from God to dominate nature and perfect creation carries with it the need to build a more humane and better world here on earth. How I would like to be able to say to them that the true Christian rejects the idea that some are born poor and others rich, and that the poor should attribute their poverty to the will of God, when it is the injustices among men which are the real problems, a problem to be resolved by man, knowing that Christ wants us to live humanely, as befits man, neither under conditions of subhumanity caused by poverty, nor dehumanized by wealth.

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CHILE

POPULAR ACTION CANDIDATE EXPLAINS ATTITUDE TOWARD MILITARY

[Letter by Jose Antonio Viera-Gallo Q.; Santiago, El Mercurio, Spanish, 3 March 1973, p 9]

We have received the following letter from MAPU [Unitary Popular Action Movement] candidate Jose Viera Gallo clarifying his official attitude toward the Military Establishment:

Santiago, 2 March 1973

Dear Mr Editor:

El Mercurio disclosed to the public a confidential report from the MAPU prepared for study, analysis, and criticism by the militants. This document reflects the preliminary opinion of some members of the Party's Political Commission and, because of that, it is not even an official document reflecting the position of the MAPU, which will be spelled out by the coming plenum of its National Directorate which will be held after the parliamentary elections. This has been made quite clear by the top leadership of the Party.

This is not the time to make a judgment on the background of this document, which is something all of us militants will do within our regular discussion bodies; but there is no doubt that there are divergent opinions on the diagnosis of the nation's situation and on the description of the various political forces involved.

But I address myself to you because in publishing an extract from that report in today's edition, El Mercurio asserts verbatim that I "in recent months, apart from my parliamentary campaign, was busy visiting military facilities, institutes, and academies, spreading a new doctrine on the role of the Armed Forces in the political events in the countries of Latin America." The paper then says that I supposedly incited the Armed Forces "in case of the possible election defeat of the left-wing forces in March, to get a firmer grip on the government -- however in order to carry out the program of Popular Unity, which is the only true road for Chile."

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Such serious and unfounded statements, made in a rather off-hand fashion, cannot be allowed to go unchallenged.

I have for several years been a professor of political theory at the Political Sciences Institute of the Catholic University of Chile and, later on, at the CEREN [Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Nacional; Center for the Study of the Nation's Situation]. While I was Undersecretary of Justice, I gave a course on "The Armed Forces and the Political Development of Latin America," in which, together with the students, we analyzed the role of military leaders in the development of the various countries on the continent during the last decade. As usual in the Political Sciences Institute, this course was attended by two active members of the Military Establishment and three members of the Corps of Carabineers [police], along with some of the University students as such. All of them can testify that I never made any reference whatsoever to the case of Chile and that I always tried to keep our studies and discussion within the context of our own national phenomena, especially in view of my capacity as government official.

The study of military behavior with reference to the destiny of society is of course a proper subject for political science. I could cite numerous studies, essays, and books dealing with this problem area and written not only by domestics but also by foreign authors. The United States is the country which has the largest number of written works dealing with the military and the future of the Third World, especially the Middle and Far East and Latin America. The intentions of quite a few United States authors in conducting these studies are not purely scientific. Their opinions influence the policy of that country toward the various governments on the continent, as was brought out in the famous Rockefeller Report and the discussion on foreign aid in the United States Senate.

I considered it proper not to reveal any information to any foreign sources, especially when the information was directly tied to our own national security. Motivated by an undeniable patriotic feeling, I decided to give a course on this subject in order to systematize this knowledge and reveal the various interpretive hypotheses with respect to the role played by the military in the future of Latin America. I never tried to create any original thinking along these lines. I simply wanted to find out and disclose what other Chilean and foreign professors of the most varied ideological currents had written earlier in order to be able to initiate a scientific investigation which would serve the national interests.

After that I was invited by the Navy War Academy to give a lecture on the content of that course. I accepted gladly because it seemed to me useful to present more unrestricted information on the conclusions which we had arrived at.

My activity with respect to the study of the role of the military in national development was only and exclusively of an academic nature. I engaged in this activity in my capacity as a university professor with the

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kind of prudence and discretion demanded by the subject matter, always trying to link the University ever more closely to the various aspects of national life -- without any kind of ideological sectarianism. The course moreover was part of a collaboration program between the Political Sciences Institute -- most of whose professors are in the DC [Christian Democratic Party] camp -- and the Armed Forces.

I must furthermore point out that I presented a detailed report on all this to the Senate Defense Committee when I was asked to do so a few months ago.

I must therefore most categorically and energetically deny the statements made in the newspaper which you manage. I have never knocked on the gates of any military facility, as did politicians of other ideological persuasions. I have always been respectful toward our Armed Forces, their professionalism and their lofty constitutional spirit. But at the same time I realize that, in order to accomplish their mission, which is to guard the security of the nation, as pointed out on more than one occasion by the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, General Carlos Prats, the Armed Forces are gradually beginning to play a more active role in national development, as always in keeping with the so-called Schneider doctrine, which is to obey the legitimate civilian authority, abide by the Constitution and the law, thus strengthening the democratic system which we have.

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CHILE

FISHING PORT TREATY WITH USSR QUESTIONED

[Article; Santiago, El Mercurio, Spanish, 2 March 1973, pp 54-56]

Because we regard it as of interest, we are reproducing the article "A Soviet Fishing Port in Arauco?" published in the Valparaíso newspaper El Mercurio, by its editor Fernando Duran Villarreal:

"At the beginning of February, and in a gathering of great solemnity in which the President of the Republic, Mr Allende, and the minister of fishing from the USSR, Mr Aleksandr Ishkov, accompanied by the Soviet Ambassador, Mr Aleksandr Basov participated, the establishment and installation of a 'fishing port and industry' in Colcura, in the Gulf of Arauco region, with Soviet capital and technical advice, was officially announced.

This was the first information made public on this undertaking, and the statements of the President at that time were limited to stating the fact, and indicating the plans the government has for this project with a view to the Chilean economic future.

All of this leads us to suppose that there is an agreement which has been reached between the two countries and that there is finally a commitment covering the installation and establishment of that port, its exploitation in the fashion determined by Soviet technology, with the agreement of Chilean officials, and in a word, the establishment of a fishing and industrial complex in a key zone of the country.

Some Background Information

There has always been insistence on the vital importance to our country of the utilization of its maritime and ichthyological resources, greatly neglected for many years. We are a

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maritime country by geographic and vocational fate, but we have forgotten these imperatives to make ourselves into an inland-oriented nation, against all of the mandates of nature.

It is good that the present government is granting first priority to the implementation of this imperative, and the idea of creating even a maritime ministry to concern itself with these matters was wise. If this ministry has not prospered, this was due to the defective concept of the project, which enveloped in a single undertaking the fishing policy along with maritime transportation, and which was a subject of controversy within the government itself.

There we have the objections of the under secretary for transportation, Don Hernan Morales, who pointed out the confusions and errors of this undertaking. It is not surprising, therefore, that it did not fare well in the parliament.

During the recent visit of President Allende to the Soviet Union, stressed by the world press, and without Chilean denial, as an effort to obtain Russian aid in view of the food crisis in our country, the guidelines for cooperation between the two countries were laid out. Earlier, during a visit to Russia involving representatives of our armed forces, there had been talk of fishing projects which were not materialized. The idea of a fishing port with Soviet advice and control was born of a later trip to Russia made by the minister of lands and future minister of maritime affairs, with the approval of this post, Don Humberto Martones.

Suddenly, and without further information, we find ourselves faced with the implementation of the project, which presupposes an existing agreement, and the proclamation of this measure in a public ceremony in which, in addition to Chilean officials, an official representative of the Russian government who had come to Chile particularly for this purpose, was present.

The Fishing Port in Colcura

A first point which disturbed the public, particularly that in the port, was the unexpected decision to establish a fishing port in the Gulf of Arauco, or more precisely, in Colcura, setting aside the earlier intention to make Valparaiso the center of this specific policy.

In addition, the choice of Colcura, a small port in Arauco, the maritime destiny of which has not been notable prior to the government decision, was a surprise. To this was added the fact that the decision calls for the establishment of both a fishing and industrial complex, entrusted to a foreign power in one of the most strategic spots and one quite neglected by Chilean policy.

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Colcura, which in the Araucanian language means 'colored stone,' is a small settlement and port in the province of Concepcion, which is located to the north of the so-called Villagran point, only 3 kilometers from Lota, in the south-easterly direction. It is also 15 kilometers from Coronal, a point opening out toward the southwest.

To the preceding information we should add that Colcura is in the very immediate radius of major industrial, strategic, and military sites within the country. It is located, in fact, very near Talcahuano, in the neighborhood of Quiriquina, both essential naval bases of the Chilean navy, adjacent to the Huachipato steel plant, in the very heart of the carboniferous industry in Lota and Coronel, which have now become a part of the state sector, very near the planned port of San Vicente, and finally, at the very center of the petrochemical industry which has just been abandoned by the Dow firm.

The wealth existing in this zone, estimated by some to have the greatest industrial potential in our economy, is tremendous, and is of the type which has a decisive effect on our development. There we find iron and steel, as has already been said, there is available a wood producing zone of great interest, there is coal and all its possible byproducts. There exists an important gas industry and the oil chemical industry has been installed there, precisely because this is a zone in which the raw materials or processing elements of this nature represent a front ranking source.

One who contemplates the Pacific and the map of our territory realizes also that the Gulf of Arauco dominates the whole section from Biobio, and in addition controls the key to maritime traffic, i.e., the essential communication for the Chilean territory, since it is located precisely in the center of the route via which the country links with the sea its two main sectors: the northern, and the central, with the extreme southern.

Russia -- Politically and Economically Monolithic

The establishment of a fishing base under Soviet guidance in this sector raises a problem which is not usual in trade or industrial agreements or those with nations with a different system.

The Chilean government has had difficulties with U.S. businesses, particularly in the case of copper, and has suffered from the reprisals known by all because it expropriated them without paying what the enterprises affected demanded. This nationalization was carried out on the basis of a constitutional

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reform, and it had, as it continues to have the support of the whole country, without distinction as to ideological, political, or economic sector.

But in these cases the government of the United States and the businesses threatened were not monolithic in nature. There well may be even very strong ties between the two, which it has not been possible to prove, but there is no absolute identification. In the case of the Soviet economy, policy and the business enterprises -- all state owned -- are one and the same thing. Just as Chile regards the attacks on the nationalized copper sector as aggression against the country, the activities of the economic bodies in Russia are basically political determinations. The government leader, converted politically into a business man or industrialist, is the same individual who directs the national and international policy of the country in Russia. There is no way of differentiating these people, because basically no difference exists.

Therefore, the installation of an industrial and fishing plant in Colcura and in Arauco is the same as the installation of a Soviet government representation in that region. All the rest is irrelevant distinctions, ideological embroidery, which has nothing to do with any reality.

Put quite clearly, the Soviet fishing and industrial base which the Soviet Union will use is a center where the entire Soviet state, inseparable in itself and its various parts, will have the option of operating.

It is not possible, therefore, to compare this case to the situation of other economic intervention by various countries. If the United States had owned the copper sector, there can be no doubt that a conflict between governments rather than between the Chilean government and foreign enterprises would have occurred. What did occur, i.e., the maintenance of normal relations with the U.S. government and even talks concerning the renegotiation of the Chilean foreign debt, proved the contrary, i.e., that the U.S. government and the U.S. businesses are not the same thing, and this, although one may accept all of the shadings, reservations and criticisms one wants, is what determined our agreement beforehand.

Russia and the 200-Mile Limit

It is also important to recall that the great economic, maritime, and international powers, Russia among them, do not accept the thesis of the South American country as to their sovereignty over a radius of 200 maritime miles.

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For these powers, the maritime territory inaccessible to them and reserved to the sovereign decision of a riparian country extends to only a tenth of this distance. With modern technology, the design and structure of seagoing vessels, and the established fact that they fish within the 200-mile limit implies a conflict between the two viewpoints: that of the riparian country desirous of keeping the industrial countries off its coasts, and that of these other countries, which support a thesis allowing them to enter into the coastal waters of the countries in the process of development.

We cannot imagine, therefore, in view of the fact that while we defend our 200-mile limit, the Soviet Union with a fishing base on our coast, would be likely to ignore this principle. If we link the Soviet concept to the location of its fishing vessels off the Chilean coast itself, we can see that any kind of restriction against a policy which eventually might work against our interests disappears.

Earlier we have said that as everything is a part of the state in Russia, one cannot differentiate the Soviet international policy from its economic activities. The political personage who takes action is always the same, be it as ambassador, naval attache, or industrial technician. In a word, all Soviet economic activity is at the time political and, conversely, all political activity is economic.

The Unknown Agreement

It is obvious that all of the industrial fishing program agreed upon by Chile and the Soviet Union must have resulted either from direct dealings by President Allende or in the Soviet talks with the minister, Mr Martones, and they must have been made specific in some document. This in turn must have established the rights, the exemptions, the privileges, and the duties which will fall to the Soviet Union. As a counterpart, there must also have been established the conditions under which Chile accepts this plan, the amount of credit granted, and the form of payment, the periods of time for carrying forward the program, and all of the pertinent details.

President Allende spoke in these terms: 'But we are here in Colcura, and I want to stress what this first great fishing and industrial port of Chile will represent, a project which will be a reality thanks to the cooperation and the attitude of solidarity and the technical assistance of the Soviet Union. For the first time in our history we are going to have a fishing and industrial port. This involves two stages: the first extending until 1976 and the second until 1980.' And he added: 'Up until 1976 the sum of 600 million escudos and 7-1/2 million

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dollars will be invested in this complex.' The dollar figure estimated at the real exchange, and the Soviets are not likely to accept the official exchange, represents 3 billion additional escudos. And all this in a first stage, up until 1976. If this is compared with the initial indebtedness of 3,600,000,000 escudos or more, because the investment will have to entail interest, as is normal for such agreement, even with Russia, we find that this is equivalent to four times the total volume of Chilean exports in 1 year, and that on the basis of a copper price at the 1970 level.

This raises a series of unclarified questions.

First of all, the substantial sum of the debt, its financing and payment. Chile is committed to return the investment with interest, in a period which has not been announced. How will this be paid?

The government sector will say that it will be paid through the fishing production involved and with the interest allocated by the budget for the purpose. But production will not come about overnight, while on the other hand the interest will continue to accumulate, and in addition, the Soviet vessels will be working over a long period of time, with the payment for technicians, maintenance costs, and other categories. In brief, both the public treasury and the Chilean fishing sector will have to face up to this responsibility as soon as the fishing 'complex' begins to be installed and to function.

There are doubtless exemptions, facilities, rights, in a word, privileges granted to Russia both for the establishment of the installations, and the use of Chilean waters in the sector, or perhaps in others, within a radius which may be up to 200 miles, or possibly less.

What is certain is that the Soviet vessels will ply these coasts, will navigate through our seas, and will have the use for this purpose of the Colcura base. In brief, a foreign power, with all of the excuses one may wish to give, will have a center of activities in one of the strategic points on our coasts, and in our territory.

And here we should again recall that within the Soviet system politics and its goals in the means and resources of the economy are inseparable.

If in addition we examine the importance Russia assigns its naval power, its expansion in the Mediterranean and in all of the oceans of the world, the considerable development of its

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submarine fleet, with the capacity to launch long distance missiles, we might think of what an imprecise agreement or a treaty which is too diffuse in this regard might mean.

Nor can we close our eyes or ears to the reactions this situation will provoke in the South American countries on the Pacific and the Atlantic.

What About Preliminary Studies and Consultations?

We have said that the agreement, treaty, or document establishing the formation and the granting of authorization for the fishing complex in Arauco-Colcura has not been publicly revealed.

Nor do we know when the study was made and approved nor who took part in the analysis, discussion, and drafting.

It is not known whether the advice of the Chilean navy was solicited, which should play an important role in this sector both because its duty includes the supervision and maintenance of safety on the seas surrounding the country, and also because the ports along the coast have been entrusted to its responsibility.

An equally mysterious factor is the studies which may have been made by the proper bodies with regard to fishing, industrial policy, and the financial-economic plans for this undertaking.

A further unknown involves why it was decided pure and simple to reach an agreement or treaty with the Soviet Union, when there are in Europe a number of countries with lengthy fishing and industrial experience, and with economies much more similar to our own and with highly developed technology in this sector. It suffices to mention Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, and Finland, to see that it would have been possible to ask these nations to make offers or propose programs which might have been compared advantageously with those accepted without further discussion from the Soviet Union.

A comparison of these possibilities and the conditions under such cases should have adequately instructed those who adopted the decision concerning what was most advantageous and represented the most favorable projections for Chile.

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Nor Was the Congress Consulted

The political constitution of state establishes a system which is quite categorical when it comes to international commitments, whenever they affect the interests of the country in any way.

To this end, Article 72, in its paragraph 16, entrusts the handling of political relations with foreign powers and the conclusion and signing of all treaties of peace, alliance, truce, neutrality, trade, concordats, and other agreements to the President of the Republic. It adds that 'treaties, prior to their ratification, will be submitted to the congress for its approval.' This concept is completed by Article 43, paragraph 50, which grants to the congress, as one of its exclusive attributions, the right to approve or reject treaties submitted to it by the President of the Republic. This covers any agreement of a specific or general nature between our country and a foreign nation or state, in other words, it covers any international agreement. In this connection, internationalist Don Ernesto Barros Jarpa said that 'agreements among states have various names: treaty, convention, protocol, pact, declaration, resolution, recommendation, etc.'

The above indicates that the fishing agreement between Chile and the Soviet Union cannot be put into practice without parliamentary confirmation, a procedure which has not even been begun.

Conclusion

In view of the background indicated, it is obviously urgent that the executive branch make available full information about the agreement signed and put into effect with the Soviet Union, giving details on the technical, political, economic, and financial reasons which led it to sign the agreement, and that finally, both the parliament and the bodies of the armed forces and the technical organizations be consulted on the matter, with regard to the context of the commitments which have been undertaken.

It cannot be assumed that the government is unaware either of its authority or is lacking in zeal for the rights of Chile, which we are sure have been taken into due consideration, but it must be realized that in matters of this overwhelming importance, the country must be consulted, heard, and informed, since this, in addition to being a duty of the state, is also the most effective means of participation by the citizenry in the decisions which affect their highest interests."

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COSTA RICA

PRESIDENT DISCUSSES ISSUES WITH NEWSMEN

[Interview with President of the Republic Jose Figueres ;
San Jose, La Nacion, Spanish, 9 March 1973, p 6]

"We should not harass the foreign investors who come to the country," said the President of the Republic, Don Jose Figueres, yesterday, when asked about Mr Robert Vesco.

At the press conference held at the premises of the SEDCA [Sistemas Electronicos de Datos y Ciencias Administrativas; Electronic Data and Management Finances Systems] in the Numar Figueres building, he was asked about this matter.

Interview

Since Vesco had said last Tuesday at a press conference held in the Costa Rica Hotel that "naturally, I met with President Figueres. It would be foolish to imagine that I would come to this country and not meet with the chief of state," Figueres was asked the details of this interview.

The President said that "I met with him (Vesco) several times, but not on Tuesday.

"We met to talk of matters involving investments in the country."

What Was Said

He said that "I have been told that he (Vesco) was irritated last Tuesday by something written about him, because the newspapers have published reports unfavorable to him. I believe that he is wrong since what has been said here constitutes reprints from the foreign press, except, obviously, for some editorials which are purely political.

"I believe that he is irritated," Figueres added, "by what some deputies have said, but what they are saying is against the government, and is political."

Bringing in Money

He then went on to say more generally that "it is not proper to harass the investors, the people who bring money to the country, which creates jobs.

"It is an error to set ourselves to bother these people.

"I have no report of bad investments in Costa Rica."

The Jenaro Valverde Case

"The attitude of certain deputies is inevitable," Figueres added.

He was asked about the fact that a prominent Liberation Party deputy, attorney Jenaro Valverde, is opposed to Robert Vesco.

"This is nothing new. The Jenaro Valverde case is well known. It did not happen to me, but came back to me settled. However, this is now known."

The Political Campaign

Concerning whether he will participate in the coming electoral campaign to defend his government in recent months, he said that "it has been said that I will participate in the electoral struggle, but for the moment these are nothing more than speculations."

He was asked about the possibility of a more forceful attack upon him?

Figueres answered that "the attacks against me could hardly be more forceful. Baseless criticisms do not bother me.

"Now if you were to ask me whether I believe certain programs to be good or evil, I can tell you to what extent I will defend these programs, which I have launched in the government."

The Country

He spoke of "the prosperity which is visible, the high commercial sales. It is plain that there is prosperity in the country. This is visible." He reiterated that "there is a drop in unemployment."

He spoke of those who earn "between 1,200 and ... 280 colons per month, who are very badly off." This was in reference to the Mixed Social Assistance Institute, which does very good work.

Barahona

The President was informed that attorney Oscar Barahona says the opposite about the state of the nation and he indicated that "everyone can say what he wishes. There is no need to pay to say things."

Chile

He commented on the results of the elections in Chile. "It seems to me, distant as we are and based on the published cable reports, that despite the wave of world propaganda against Allende, he emerged in good shape from the elections.

"The result of this popular consultation in Chile is a warning to America.

"I believe that the electoral masses are more responsive now than before. It is curious," he said, "that despite everything, things in Chile are decided by means of elections."

Allende has improved his position. He then said that "the people are becoming aware."

Concerning whether there is any relation between what has happened in Chile and Costa Rica, he said that "in our country the popular response to measures favoring the weaker is improving."

Deficit

He spoke of the report released by the minister of finance to the effect that the deficit is only 23 million colons, according to the balancing of the budget.

Figueres praised the work of Minister Alpizar and said that "the deficit has been reduced to 23 million colons."

The former minister of planning and ambassador to Washington, attorney Marco A. Lopez, who accompanied the President on his visit to the SEDCA, said that "there are various types of deficit: legal, economic, and financial."

Income Tax

Figueres commented that "it will be necessary to seek a solution to the well-known problem of income tax evasion."

Other Matters

During the press conference, other subjects were discussed. Concerning school equipment, Figueres said that "I do not know much about these things, which are very costly."

Concerning the problem of milk, meat, and transportation, he made the following generalization: "These are sensitive subjects. The main problem lies in the low income of certain categories of persons."

"In the meat sector there is much to be done. A legal requirement that a sufficient percentage to guarantee adequate meat be left in the country is justifiable. We are working on this."

Concerning the group of meat packers which visited him, he said that "they are rendering a service to the country and will have representation on the National Commission. There will also be a representative of the consumers."

Attorney Lopez Aguero spoke to say that "there is a world problem concerning rising prices." He mentioned such cases as the United States, Great Britain, Switzerland, and Italy.

Figueres gave an incisive answer to a question about financial interests, saying that "they often play the game of the pinch pennies."

At the conclusion of the press conference he made two statements on different subjects.

He said that "La Nacion has always been anti-liberationist and anti-social reform."

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And, going back to the subject of Vesco, he said:
"Many of the things published here frighten investors. It is
very hard for university circles to understand our environment."

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COSTA RICA

SPOKESMAN FOR ROBERT VESCO ADDRESSES JOURNALISTS

[Article; San Jose, La Nacion, Spanish, 9 March 1973, p 4]

This is a communication sent by Mr J. Raul Espinoza, the Costa Rican representative of Mr Robert Vesco, to the President of the Journalists Association, Don Rolando Angulo, yesterday.

It reads:

"Although I do not know you personally, I want to send you these lines seeking to make the following understood, because of the high position you hold representing journalists in Costa Rica:

"In error, some communications media in the country have taken certain statements made by Mr Robert Vesco in his national radio and television appearances and in his press conference as a threat to the right of free press information.

"Nothing could be farther from the truth. At no time has Mr Vesco had the intention of violating freedom of the press and for the very reason that this is a country in which all rights are respected and the law is heeded by all, Mr Vesco announced that an appeal would be made to the existing legislation on insult or defamation and slander, in order to prevent the damage which inaccurate and false information is doing to his reputation and his business. I believe that this is consistent with the concept of freedom of the press which we should all support.

"Possibly Mr Vesco made the involuntary error of failing to answer or deal with promptly the reports and comments of all kinds which have been published about his business and his person.

"With a view to correcting this error and being able to give you and the public in general the information merited, Mr Vesco has entrusted this task to me, such that you can all regard me as speaking on his behalf and at his personal wish. Also as Mr Vesco's representative in certain business activities, in addition to these relations with journalists, I give you my assurance that we respect and will respect not only the basic task of the press, but everything which is a guarantee of the common good in a country of order and legality.

"I hope you will be so good as to communicate this information to your colleagues to correct improper interpretations."

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COMMISSION TO INTERVIEW MCALPIN IN MEXICO

[Article; San Jose, La Nacion, Spanish, 9 March 1973, p 4]

The members of the investigation commission, Dr Longino Soto Pacheco and Angel E. Solano Calderon, will leave for Mexico on the regular LACSA flight at 8:30 this morning. In the capital of that country they will meet with Mr Gordon McAlpin, in a hotel the name of which has not been announced. The talks with McAlpin will take place on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, and they will be tape recorded by the executive secretary of the commission, Don Humberto Chaves. Deputy Soto Pacheco has stated that the testimony of Mr McAlpin is of the greatest importance to the task which has been entrusted to the commission in connection with mutual funds and Mr Robert Vesco.

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